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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR PGOV WB FR UR
SUBJECT: BERLIN: WORMSER-ABRASIMOV LUNCHEON (MARCH 11)

REFS: (A) BERLIN 5506; (B) MOSCOW 3262; (C) MOSCOW 3189

BEGIN SUMMARY. IN HIS MEETING WITH THE FRENCH
AMBASSADOR ON MARCH 11, ABRASIMOV REITERATED IN STRONG
TERMS MANY OF THE SAME POINTS WHICH HAD BEEN MADE THE
PREVIOUS DAY IN THE NOTE HANDED TO THE THREE ALLIED
EMBASSIES IN MOSCOW AND IN ABRASIMOV'S PRESS CONFERENCE
IN EAST BERLIN. HE ASSERTED THAT GREATER BERLIN CEASED
TO EXIST 28 YEARS AGO AND THAT THE QA APPLIED ONLY TO
WEST BERLIN. AFTER STATING THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD NO
CLAIMS WHATSOEVER IN WEST BERLIN, ABRASIMOV REFERRED TO
THE ALLIED MILITARY PATROLS IN EAST BERLIN AS A RELIC OF
THE PAST -- A STATEMENT WITH DISQUIETING OVERTONES,
ALTHOUGH THERE WERE NO SPECIFIC THREATS. FOR THE FIRST
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TIME IN MANY MONTHS, ABRASIMOV REMINDED WORMSER OF THE
RIGHT OF ANY ONE OF THE FOUR POWERS TO CALL FOR CONSUL-
TATIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QA. ABRASIMOV MADE MORE
OR LESS STANDARD COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE FEDERAL PRESENCE
IN WEST BERLIN AND THE ACTIVITIES OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS
THERE. HE REJECTED WORMSER'S COMPLAINT ABOUT THE
DISAPPEARANCE OF THE 'VERORDNUNGSBLATT FUER GROSS BERLIN'

AND DEFENDED THE RIGHT OF THE GDR TO DO WHATEVER IT WANTED IN "ITS CAPITAL." WORMSER WARNED ABRASIMOV THAT HONECKER'S STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS WERE UNACCEPTABLE AND STATED THAT FRANCO-SOVIET RELATIONS WOULD BE AFFECTED IF THE SOVIETS PERMITTED THE GDR TO CONTINUE IN THIS WAY. END SUMMARY.

1. THE FRENCH BONN GROUP REP (BOISSIEU) ON THE MORNING OF MARCH 12 GAVE US AND UK REPS AN ORAL BRIEFING ON THE PREVIOUS DAY'S LUNCHEON CONVERSATION IN WEST BERLIN BETWEEN AMBASSADOR WORMSER AND AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV. BOISSIEU SAID THAT A CONDENSED REPORT ON THE MEETING HAD ALSO BEEN GIVEN ALLIED MISSIONS IN BERLIN THE AFTERNOON OF MARCH 11. BECAUSE OF PRESS LEAKS ON EARLIER WORMSER-ABRASIMOV CONVERSATIONS, THE FRENCH PREFER TO RESTRICT THE AMOUNT OF INFORMATION GIVEN OUT IN BERLIN (INCLUDING, APPARENTLY, TO THEIR OWN MISSION). BOISSIEU'S ACCOUNT OF THE CONVERSATION SHOULD THEREFORE BE PROTECTED.

2. THE DISCUSSION DEVOTED TO BERLIN MATTERS WAS MORE LIMITED THAN USUAL. ABRASIMOV CONSUMED MUCH OF THE TIME AT THE TABLE DISCUSSING OTHER MATTERS -- DETAILS ON WHAT HE HAD DONE WHILE AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE TO DECORATE THE GRAVES OF FAMOUS RUSSIANS; PREPARATIONS FOR THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET REVOLUTION; GOALS OF SOVIET POLICY; AND THE SOVIET POSITION ON CSCE AND BELGRADE. AFTER ABRASIMOV HAD HAD HIS SAY ON BERLIN HE ATTEMPTED TO TERMINATE THE MEETING ABRUPTLY BECAUSE HE HAD TO CONFIDENTIAL

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GREET PATOLICHEV (WHO WAS ARRIVING FOR THE LEIPZIG FAIR). AS A RESULT, THERE WAS NO TIME TO RAISE SPECIFIC ITEMS AND THE SUBJECTS OF DEGASSIFICATION OF OIL BARGES (BONN 4330) AND RUDOLF HESS DID NOT ARISE.

3. IN PRESENTING THE BRIEFING, BOISSIEU FIRST WENT OVER EVERYTHING ABRASIMOV HAD SAID AND ONLY LATER BRIEFED ON WORMSER'S REMARKS. AS SOME OF THE FORMER WAS IN RESPONSE TO SOME OF THE LATTER, WE HAVE TRIED TO RE-CONSTRUCT THE DIALOGUE AS BEST WE CAN BUT ARE NOT CERTAIN THE SEQUENCE OF REMARKS IS EXACT.

4. ABRASIMOV: OUR POLICY ON WEST BERLIN REMAINS UN-CHANGED. WE FAVOR THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE QA. WE DOUBT THAT YOU HAVE ANYTHING WITH WHICH TO REPROACH US; IN ALL THE YEARS SINCE THE QA THERE HAVE BEEN NO VIOLATIONS FROM OUR SIDE. THE QA HAS PERMITTED VISITS BY 12 MILLION WEST GERMANS AND 4 MILLION WEST GERMAN

CARS ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES. THERE HAVE BEEN MORE THAN
9 MILLION WEST GERMAN AND WEST BERLIN VISITORS TO THE
GDR AND ESPECIALLY TO ITS CAPITAL.

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5. (ABRASIMOV) THE SOVIET UNION HAS NO CLAIM WHATSOEVER
EVER IN WEST BERLIN, BUT IT HAS BECOME OBVIOUS FOR
EVERYONE THAT THE FREE PASSAGE OF THE ALLIED PATROLS --
AND ESPECIALLY THE AMERICAN PATROLS -- IN THE CAPITAL
OF THE GDR REPRESENTS A RELIC OF THE PAST. THAT BEING
SAID, I REPEAT THAT NO ONE IS THREATENING WEST BERLIN.
THE CONDITION FOR THE FACT THAT THERE ARE NO THREATS
TO WEST BERLIN IS STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE QA.

6. (ABRASIMOV) I DO NOT WISH TO SPECULATE ON THE
RIGHTS OF THE THREE POWERS IN WEST BERLIN. I REPEAT:
NEITHER THE SOVIET UNION NOR THE GDR HAS EITHER
TERRITORIAL OR LEGAL CLAIMS WITH REGARD TO THE SENAT OF
WEST BERLIN OR THE THREE POWERS. WE ONLY WANT THE QA
TO BE STRICTLY OBSERVED. YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT FOR

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US THE THEORY OF JESUS CHRIST ON TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK
SIMPLY DOES NOT EXIST.

7. (ABRASIMOV) WHAT I SAID IN MY PRESS CONFERENCE
YESTERDAY (COMMENT: REPORTED REF A) IS CLEAR. IT WAS
ABSOLUTELY COINCIDENTAL THAT THE THREE AMBASSADORS IN
MOSCOW WERE CALLED IN ON THE SAME DAY TO RECEIVE A
COMMUNICATION OF A SIMILAR NATURE (REFS B AND C). FOR
YEARS WE HAVE TOLD YOU THAT "GREATER BERLIN" HAS CEASED
TO EXIST, THAT THERE NO LONGER IS AN "EAST BERLIN,"
BUT THAT THERE EXISTS A GDR OF WHICH BERLIN IS THE
CAPITAL AND AN INTEGRAL PART. YOUR AMBASSADORS IN
MOSCOW HAVE MERELY TAKEN NOTE OF THE STATEMENT OF THE
FOREIGN MINISTRY. I REPEAT THAT THE SOVIET UNION CLAIMS
NO RIGHTS ON THE TERRITORY OF WEST BERLIN.

8. (ABRASIMOV) THERE IS WEST BERLIN, OR AS YOU SAY
THREE SECTORS, WHICH ARE SUBJECTED TO AN OCCUPATION
REGIME, AND IT IS UP TO YOU TO MAKE ORDER PREVAIL IN
THOSE SECTORS -- BUT AN ORDER WHICH IS MADE TO CONFORM
TO THE QA. WE ARE OBLIGED TO NOTE THAT THE THREE POWERS
WHO SIGNED THE QA HAVE AUTHORIZED THE FRG OF GENSCHER,
AND ALSO SCHUETZ, TO VIOLATE THE QA CCRUDELY. THIS
WILL NOT REMAIN UNANSWERED. WE ARE MAKING A LIST OF
THOSE VIOLATIONS, AND WE PROTEST THEM, HERE OR IN
MOSCOW. LAST YEAR THERE WERE FORTY PROTESTS. BUT YOU
CAN IMAGINE THAT WE WILL NOT ALWAYS BE CONTENT JUST TO
PROTEST.

9. (ABRASIMOV) I GIVE YOU SOME ADVICE WHICH COULD BE
USEFUL. READ THE QA ONCE MORE, ASK YOUR AMERICAN AND
BRITISH COLLEAGUES TO DO THE SAME, AND STICK TO ITS
PROVISIONS. DON'T GIVE FIFTH OR SIXTH NON-
PARTIES THE RIGHT TO INTERPRET IT. THIS APPLIES FOR
BONN AND GENSCHER AND FOR WEST BERLIN. IN CONNECTION
WITH WEST BERLIN, I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION
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TO THE RECENT STATEMENT BY SCHUETZ (COMMENT:
PRESUMABLY SCHUETZ' COMMENT ON THE ABRASIMOV PRESS
CONFERENCE). THAT STATEMENT CONSTITUTES AN INTOLERABLE
INTERFERENCE. THIS VAIN MAN SPEAKS
EXACTLY AS IF HE HAS SIGNED THE QA AND THINKS THAT HE
IS AUTHORIZED -- WHEN HE IS NOTHING -- TO TEACH US

RUSSIANS WHO HAVE SIGNED THE QA AND ARE A GREAT POWER
WHAT WE SHOULD DO ABOUT THE QA AND HOW TO INTERPRET IT.

10. (ABRASIMOV) I SUGGEST THAT YOU RECALL THE PROVISION
OF THE QA (APPARENTLY YOUR BRITISH COLLEAGUE HAS
FORGOTTEN IT) THAT IF IT IS NECESSARY AND IF ONE PARTY
WISHES IT CAN ASK FOR QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS.
NEITHER SCHMIDT NOR HONECKER, AND EVEN LESS SO
SCHUETZ, CAN DO SO.

11. (ABRASIMOV) I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE YOU ONE
ASSURANCE. IF, AS IT IS STIPULATED IN THE QA, THE
OFFICIAL ACTIVITIES OF CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT ARE PROHIBITED IN WEST BERLIN; IF, IN
CONFORMITY WITH THE QA PROVISION THAT STIPULATES THAT
THE FEDERAL PRESENCE SHOULD BE DIMINISHED, AND IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE ASSURANCES GIVEN TWO YEARS AGO BY
THE US GOVERNMENT, NO NEW OFFICIAL FEDERAL INSTITUTION
IS CREATED IN WEST BERLIN; IF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE LAENDER OF THE FRG REFRAIN FROM KNAVISH AND
USELESS PROVOCATIONS IN WEST BERLIN -- WE THINK WE
COULD GIVE YOU THE ASSURANCE THAT ALL COULD GO WELL
IN WEST BERLIN.

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12. (ABRASIMOV) I HAVE DEALT WITH ALL THE POINTS I WANT TO MENTION. NOW I MUST LEAVE FOR SCHOENEFELD TO MEET PATOLICHEV.

13. WORMSER: I WILL BE BRIEF AND PRECISE. YOU MENTIONED BELGRADE. I RECALL THAT THE CSCE PROCESS WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE QA. IF IT HAD NOT BEEN SIGNED, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO HELSINKI CONFERENCE. IF THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QA, I DOUBT THAT THE CSCE PROCESS COULD CONTINUE.

14. (WORMSER) I AM OBLIGED TO POINT OUT THAT THE FOUR POWERS STATED THAT THEY SIGNED THE QA "WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR LEGAL POSITIONS." WHEN THEY CONCLUDED THE QA, THE FOUR KNEW THAT NO AGREEMENT
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WAS POSSIBLE ON CERTAIN POINTS, ESPECIALLY ON LEGAL POSITIONS, WHICH WERE MORE OR LESS RESERVED. AS DE GUIRINGAUD SAID IN BERLIN, THE OBJECTIVE OF THE QA WAS TO BRING ABOUT PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN GREATER BERLIN. IT IS IN THAT WAY THAT WE INTERPRET THE PHRASE, "RELEVANT AREA."

15. (WORMSER) WHEN I READ YOUR PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY AND THE STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, I HAD THE FEELING THAT WE HAD GONE BACK MANY YEARS AND WERE ENTERING ONCE MORE INTO LEGAL POLEMICS BETWEEN THE THREE POWERS AND THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS USELESS TO ENTER INTO LEGAL CONTROVERSIES TODAY, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO SAY A FEW THINGS. I REGRET THAT YOU HAVE DEEMED IT NECESSARY TO BRING INTO THE MARKETPLACE A POLEMIC AGAINST WHAT IS SAID IN THE QA. WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE NOTE WHICH WAS GIVEN US YESTERDAY IN REPLY TO OUR DEMARCHE OF JANUARY 11. THAT DEMARCHE DEALT WITH THE STEPS WHICH HAD BEEN TAKEN BY THE GDR TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IT COULD UNILATERALLY MODIFY THE STATUS OF GREATER BERLIN. THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE. YOU KNOW THAT ONLY THE FOUR POWERS CAN MODIFY THAT STATUS, AND THAT THEY HAVE NOT DONE SO. THE STEPS WHICH THE GDR HAS TAKEN CONSTITUTE A PUBLIC CHALLENGE TO THE THREE POWERS AND TO THEIR LEGAL POSITIONS. WE CANNOT AND WILL NOT ACCEPT IT, AND THIS CANNOT REMAIN WITHOUT CONSEQUENCES.

16. (WORMSER) DOES THIS MEAN THAT THERE IS NO SOLUTION? NO. YOU MADE ONE STATEMENT THAT WE AGREE WITH: THAT THE QA CANNOT BE INTERPRETED BY SCHMIDT, SCHUETZ AND HONECKER. I OFFER YOU SOME ADVICE: SEE HONECKER, ADVISE HIM NOT TO SAY AND DO THINGS SUCH AS HE HAS DONE IN RECENT WEEKS. WHEN HE STATED IN HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE SAARBRUECKER ZEITUNG THAT PUBLICATION OF THE VERORDNUNGSBLATT -- WHICH REFLECTS CONFIDENTIAL

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THE STATUS OF GREATER BERLIN -- WAS STOPPED IN ORDER TO SAVE PAPER, HE WAS PUBLICLY RIDICULING THE THREE POWERS AND ATTACKING THEIR LEGAL POSITIONS. THIS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. IT IS ALSO OBVIOUS THAT WHEN WE RECEIVE IN THE UN NOTES FROM THE GDR, BULGARIA, POLAND, ETC., PURPORTING TO INTERPRET THE QA WHEN THEY HAVE NO STANDING TO DO SO, WE ARE OBLIGED TO THINK THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN THEM PERMISSION TO TAKE SUCH ACTION. IN SUBSTANCE, WE CANNOT ACCEPT YOUR LEGAL POSITIONS. BUT IF YOU BRING THIS DISAGREEMENT INTO THE MARKETPLACE AND AUTHORIZE STATES WITH NO COMPETENCE TO DO SO TO ATTACK OUR POSITIONS, THIS WILL CHARGE SEVERELY THE ATMOSPHERE IN EUROPE.

17. (WORMSER) OUR POSITION IS THAT THE QA IS A GREAT IMPROVEMENT. WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IT, AND WE INTERPRET IT IN GOOD FAITH. WE KNOW THERE ARE POINTS ON WHICH OUR INTERPRETATIONS DIFFER. IF YOU EXAMINE THE MATTER CAREFULLY YOU WILL SEE THAT OUR INTERPRETATION IS CORRECT. WE FOLLOW A SPIRIT OF MODERATION AND DO NOTHING WHICH WOULD HARM THE LEGAL POSITIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION.

18. (WORMSER) I TAKE NOTE OF YOUR REMARKS CONCERNING THE RIGHTS OF THE THREE POWERS IN GREATER BERLIN AND OF YOUR STATEMENT THAT YOU HAVE NO CLAIMS IN WEST BERLIN AND THAT THE GDR HAS NO CLAIMS IN WEST BERLIN.

19. ABRASIMOV: I DID NOT SAY THAT. I DID NOT MENTION THE GDR IN THIS CONNECTION.

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20. WORMSER: I DON'T MIND ABOUT THE GDR BECAUSE IT
HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE MATTER. SO I TAKE NOTE OF
YOUR STATEMENT THAT THERE ARE NO SOVIET CLAIMS AGAINST
WEST BERLIN. WE WILL OBSERVE THE QUADRIpartite
AGREEMENTS AND DECISIONS AND THE RIGHTS AND RESPON-
SIBILITIES WHICH THE FOUR POWERS, INCLUDING THE SOVIET
UNION, HAVE IN THE FOUR SECTORS OF THE CITY. IF WE
LEAVE ASIDE THE LEGAL PROBLEMS, WHAT IS LEFT IS A
SERIES OF SMALL PROBLEMS. YOU HAVE SAID THERE WERE
FORTY OF THEM LAST YEAR, BUT FOUR OUT OF FIVE OF THOSE
WERE TINY PROBLEMS OF LEGAL INTERPRETATION. THAT MEANS
32, AND IN THOSE YOU SAY -- AND YOU ARE
CORRECT -- THAT THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN ARE NOT
A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FRG AND ARE NOT GOVERNED
BY IT. BUT YOU FORGET THE PORTION OF THAT PASSAGE ON
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MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIES, WHICH FOR US
IS OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE. MOST OF THE PROBLEMS STEM FROM
THE FACT THAT WE TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE WHOLE SENTENCE,
WHILE YOU CONSIDER ONLY HALF OF IT.

21. (WORMSER) IN BERLIN WE -- THE THREE PLUS THE

SOVIET UNION -- HAVE DUTIES. THE DUTY OF THE THREE IS TO ENSURE, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES ARE OBSERVED -- I.E., THAT THE FRG DOES NOT EXCEED ITS COMPETENCE. YOUR DUTY IS TO PREVENT THE GDR FROM CONTINUING ITS POLICY OF PROVOCATION AND OF PINPRICKS AND FROM INTERFERING IN MATTERS CONCERNING WHICH IT HAS NO COMPETENCE. TO CITE ONE EXAMPLE, YESTERDAY'S FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT IN MOSCOW ASSERTED THAT THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE SECTORS IN BERLIN WAS A STATE FRONTIER. I FAIL TO SEE YOUR INTEREST IN CONTINUING TO CHALLENGE OUR LEGAL POSITION, AS THIS CAN ONLY POISON THE ATMOSPHERE. THERE WAS CONTROVERSY IN 1971 WHEN THE QA WAS CONCLUDED. THE PURPOSE OF THE QA WAS TO CREATE SOMETHING ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES. I ASK YOU TO ENSURE THAT THE SITUATION, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED BY COMMON AGREEMENT AND WHICH HAS AMONG OTHER THINGS MADE POSSIBLE CSCE, NOT BE MODIFIED BY A FIFTH PARTY WHICH HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH IT.

22.(WORMSER) IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO YOUR REFERENCE TO THE ALLIED MILITARY PATROLS WHICH YOU REFER TO AS RELICS OF THE PAST. YOU ARE EMBARKING ON A VERY BAD COURSE IF YOU TOUCH ON THE STATUS OF BERLIN AND ON OUR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. IT WILL GO VERY BADLY, AND YOU NEVER KNOW WHERE IT WILL STOP.

23. (WORMSER) WHEN YOU SEE PATOLICHEV, GIVE HIM MY GREETINGS AND TELL HIM THAT WORMSER IS AS DIFFICULT AN INTERLOCUTOR NOW AS WHEN HE WAS IN MOSCOW.
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24. ABRASIMOV: IN REFERRING TO THE QA, YOU ALWAYS REPEAT THE PORTION OF THE SENTENCE WHICH YOU LIKE CONCERNING THE TIES BETWEEN THE FRG AND WEST BERLIN. WHEN THE QA WAS NEGOTIATED YOU -- UNHAPPILY FOR YOU -- FORGOT TO BE ASSISTED BY LEGAL ADVISORS. WE OF COURSE RECOGNIZE THE TIES, BUT ON CONDITION THAT THEY SHOULD BE TECHNICAL, ECONOMIC AND THE LIKE. THE ESSENTIAL SENTENCE OF THE QA -- AND ALL LEGAL ADVISORS WILL TELL YOU THAT THIS IS SO -- IS THAT WEST BERLIN IS NOT A PART OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND IS NOT GOVERNED BY IT. IF FEDERAL MINISTERS COME TO WEST BERLIN WITHOUT PERFORMING OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS THERE, WE OF COURSE SAY NOTHING ABOUT IT. BUT YOU THREE READ THE SECOND PART OF THE PROVISION ON TIES AS MEANING THAT IT IMPOSES NO RESTRICTIONS. AGAIN I ADVISE YOU TO READ THE QA ONCE MORE -- ESPECIALLY YOUR AMERICAN COLLEAGUE.

25. (ABRASIMOV) I RETURN TO WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT A
SO-CALLED "GREATER BERLIN" AND WOULD LIKE TO MAKE THESE
OBSERVATIONS. THE GDR IS A SOVEREIGN NATION. IT HAS
BEEN RECOGNIZED BY FRANCE. IT IS A FULL MEMBER OF THE
UNITED NATIONS. IN ITS CAPITAL I HAVE A FRENCH, A
BRITISH, AND AN AMERICAN COLLEAGUE. IT IS THE ABSOLUTE
RIGHT OF THE GDR TO DO WHAT IT WISHES TO DO IN ALL OF
ITS TERRITORY. THIS APPLIES TO THE LAWS OF THE GDR ON
MATTERS SUCH AS VISAS, PASSPORTS, ETC. I AM SURPRISED
THAT THE THREE POWERS MAKE SUCH CLAIMS AGAINST THE LAWS
OF THE GDR; THIS REPRESENTS INTOLERABLE
INTERFERENCE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS. WHAT IF THEY

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WERE TO MAKE SUCH CLAIMS IN BONN? EVEN WE HAVE NO
RIGHT TO INTERFERE WITH THE EXERCISE BY THE GDR OF ITS
SOVEREIGN RIGHTS. THEY CAN DO WHAT THEY WANT WITH RE-
GARD TO WHO WILL ENTER, WHO WILL PAY FEES, ETC. I
CANNOT SEE THE INTEREST OF FRANCE IN THE OFFICIAL
GAZETTE OF THE GDR. DOES FRANCE PROTEST BECAUSE YOU
HAVE THE SAME GAZETTE FOR PARIS AND FOR

MARSEILLES?

26. WORMSER: THE NECESSITY FOR PUBLISHING LAWS OF THE GDR WHICH ARE TO APPLY IN EAST BERLIN IN THE VERORDNUNGSBLATT WAS A REFLECTION OF THE STATUS OF BERLIN. IN 1971 IT WAS DECIDED THAT THINGS WOULD REMAIN AS THEY WERE. WE DO NOT CONTEST THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE GDR -- BUT THIS DOES NOT EXTEND TO BERLIN. IF YOU ALLOW THE GDR TO CONTINUE IN THIS WAY, IT CAN ONLY
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AFFECT OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

27. ABRASIMOV: I HAVE ANSWERED ALL YOUR POINTS. IN 1949 THE WESTERN POWERS LIQUIDATED GREATER BERLIN. GREATER BERLIN CEASED TO EXIST 28 YEARS AGO. IN THE QA THERE IS NO MENTION OF GREATER BERLIN OR EAST BERLIN. THERE IS ONLY AN AGREEMENT ON WEST BERLIN.

28. WORMSER: CERTAINLY NOT.

29. ABRASIMOV: I MUST LEAVE NOW FOR THE AIRPORT.

30. COMMENT: THE TIMING OF DELIVERY OF THE REPLY TO THE ALLIED DEMARCHE OF JANUARY 11 (REFS B AND C) MAKES IT APPEAR THAT MOSCOW SOUGHT TO GET THAT OUT OF THE WAY BEFORE ABRASIMOV'S MEETING WITH WORMSER. AND DESPITE HIS CLAIM THAT IT WAS COINCIDENTAL, WE ASSUME THAT ABRASIMOV TIMED HIS PRESS CONFERENCE AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME AS THE DELIVERY OF THE NOTES TO THE ALLIED EMBASSIES IN MOSCOW IN ORDER TO GET ON THE PUBLIC RECORD THE SAME POSITION AS EXPRESSED IN THE NOTES. WHILE ABRASIMOV IS TO SOME EXTENT CORRECT IN STATING THAT THERE IS NOTHING NEW IN THAT POSITION, OUR INITIAL IMPRESSION IS THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE GONE FURTHER THAN HERETOFORE IN PUTTING THEIR POSITION SO STRONGLY IN AN OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION TO THE THREE ALLIES.

31. THREE ASPECTS OF THE WORMSER-ABRASIMOV CONVERSATION SEEM NOTEWORTHY. FIRST IS THE FACT THAT ABRASIMOV AGAIN BROUGHT UP THE SUBJECT OF THE ALLIED MILITARY PATROLS, AS HE HAD DONE WHEN HE SAW UK AMBASSADOR WRIGHT ON JANUARY 19. SECOND IS THE RATHER CURIOUS BUT THRICE REPEATED STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIETS (AND THE GDR) HAVE NO TERRITORIAL OR LEGAL CLAIM AGAINST WEST BERLIN. THIS COULD HAVE BEEN MEANT MERELY TO BE A REPETITION OF
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EARLIER ASSURANCES THAT THREE-POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES WERE NOT AFFECTED BY THE RECENT GDR MEASURES CONCERNING EAST BERLIN. BUT BY TYING HIS STATEMENT TO THE CLAIM THAT ALLIED PATROLS WERE A RELIC OF THE PAST, ABRASIMOV COULD ALSO BE SUGGESTING THAT NEITHER SIDE HAS A BASIS FOR CLAIMING RIGHTS IN THE OTHER'S SECTOR OTHER THAN THOSE SPELLED OUT IN THE QA. THE STATEMENT THUS DOES LITTLE TO ERASE CONCERNS THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE TOYING WITH THE IDEA OF ATTEMPTING TO RESTRICT THE EXERCISE OF ALLIED RIGHTS IN THE EASTERN SECTOR.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 06 BONN 04513

32. A THIRD POINT OF INTEREST WAS ABRASIMOV'S REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS. THIS IS SOMETHING THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT MENTIONED FOR SOME TIME, AND WE IN FACT TEND TO DOUBT

THAT THE IDEA OF CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE AS APPEALING TO THE SOVIETS JUST NOW AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN SIX MONTHS OR A YEAR AGO. IF THE SOVIETS CALL FOR CONSULTATIONS, THEY WILL OF COURSE WISH TO DISCUSS ONLY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE PORTIONS OF THE QA WHICH DEAL SPECIFICALLY WITH WEST BERLIN. IT SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE CLEAR TO THEM THAT RECENT EVENTS HAVE STRENGTHENED THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN SIDE FOR INSISTING THAT ANY SUCH CONSULTATIONS SHOULD ALSO COVER EVENTS IN EAST BERLIN AS WELL.

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33. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THE FRENCH HAVE HERETOFORE ISSUED WARNINGS TO THE SOVIETS THAT A CONTINUATION OF DIFFICULTIES OVER BERLIN COULD AFFECT FRANCO-SOVIET BILATERAL RELATIONS. FROM BOISSIEU'S ACCOUNT, IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE MESSAGE CERTAINLY SHOULD HAVE GOTTEN ACROSS TO ABRASIMOV.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, TREATY COMPLIANCE, SOVEREIGNTY, DETENTE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MEETING REPORTS, STATUS OF BERLIN, BERLIN QUADRIPARTITE MATTERS
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